

JPRS 78826

25 August 1981

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1912



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate i. context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

25 August 1981

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

No. 1912

**CONTENTS**

**ALBANIA**

New Law on Office of Prosecutor Published (GAZETA ZYRTARE, Mar 81) .....	1
Need for Agitation-Propaganda Work Stressed (Editorial; ZERI I POPULLIT, 5 Jul 81) .....	7
Briefs	
Lleshi Attends Party Comm. Coration	10

**BULGARIA**

Briefs	
Zhivkov on Amnesty Bill	11
Complaints Against PZPR	11
SRV Anniversary	11
Condolences to Khomeyni	12
Multilateral Agreements	12

**ROMANIA**

Emigre Publication Reports on Calciu Case (BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL, 28 Jul 81) .....	13
Festive Meeting Marks Mongolian Anniversary (AGERPRES, 10 Jul 81) .....	15
Briefs	
Radulescu Receives Finnish Communists	16
Education Meeting Concludes	16
Cioran Receives Canadian Communists	16

YUGOSLAVIA

Professor Muhic Analyzes Unrest in Kosovo (Fuad Muhic; SVLJET, 22 Jun 81) .....	17
Indiscipline Noted in Titograd Military District (Tihomir Vasiljevic; BORBA, 9 Jun 81) .....	23
Scholar Notes Lack of Freedom in Albania (Halit Trnavci Interview; POLITIKA, 11 Jun 81) .....	24
Macedonian LC Handling of Albanian Problem Explained (Boro Denkov Interview; NOVA MAKEDONIJA, 27 Jun 81) .....	26
<b>Briefs</b>	
School Director Out	33
Albanian Nationalism Near Kumanovo	33
Podujevo Expulsions	33
Reference to Island Prison	33

**NEW LAW ON OFFICE OF PROSECUTOR PUBLISHED**

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 2, Mar 81 pp 28-34

[Law on the Office of the Prosecutor of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] On the basis of Article 67 of the Constitution, the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania resolves:

**General Principles**

**Article 1**

The office of the prosecutor is an organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the control of the exact and uniform implementation of the laws which express the will of the working class and the other working masses.

**Article 2**

In all its activity the office of the prosecutor is guided by the policy of the Albanian Workers Party; it is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and it acts on the basis of the Constitution and of the laws of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

**Article 3**

In the execution of its duties, the office of the prosecutor resolutely adheres to the principle of the development of the class struggle in the implementation of the laws. It carries on an unceasing struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism.

In monitoring the implementation of the laws the office of the prosecutor is guided by the requirement that no guilty person escape punishment and that no innocent person be charged with a crime unlawfully and without basis.

**Article 4**

In its activity, the office of the prosecutor implements the line of the masses, relies upon this line, gives the masses an accounting of the execution of its duties, and hears testimony, criticism, and recommendations from the masses.

## **Article 5**

The office of the prosecutor is an organ of the People's Assembly. The attorney general is responsible to the People's Assembly and gives the People's Assembly an accounting of his work. In between sessions, he reports to the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The office of the prosecutor is independent of local organs of government and state administration. It informs representative organs of the implementation of the laws and together with these organs, it coordinates measures to combat violations of laws.

### **The Organization of the Office of the Prosecutor**

## **Article 6**

The office of the prosecutor is organized and operates on the basis of the principle of single direction. The attorney general heads the office of the prosecutor. He directs the entire activity of the office of the prosecutor. The attorney general executes his duties directly or by means of the district prosecutors, with the exception of the duties which, by law, are assigned only to the attorney general.

The attorney general gives orders and directives which are obligatory for the district prosecutors.

The highest prosecutor exercises all the rights of the lowest prosecutor; he suspends and abrogates every irregular and illegal act and action.

The orders and directives of the highest prosecutor are obligatory for the lower prosecutor.

## **Article 7**

The office of the district prosecutor carries out its duties and exercises its rights in a territorial administrative unit including military units and sectors, and with the permission of the attorney general, outside its administrative unit also.

## **Article 8**

The attorney general and his deputies are appointed and released by the People's Assembly. Between the sessions of the People's Assembly, the assistant attorneys general are appointed or released by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The district prosecutor is appointed and released by the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The other prosecutors are appointed and released by the attorney general.

## **Article 9**

In the execution of its duties, the office of the prosecutor is assisted by the peoples prosecutors who are selected from among the people, by open vote, in every city district, village, military unit, institution and enterprise.

## **Article 10**

In its activity of reducing, preventing and detecting violations of the law the office of the prosecutor works with the state organs and the economic and social organizations.

### **The Duties and Rights of the Office of the Prosecutor**

## **Article 11**

In order to ensure the exact and uniform implementation of the laws in the entire territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the office of the prosecutor has the obligation of:

--Monitoring the exact and uniform implementation of laws and other juridical acts by ministries, other central and local organs, by the courts, the investigative organs, the enterprises, the economic and social organizations, workers and citizens, and making sure that the acts issued by these organs are in accordance with the Constitution and with the laws of the People's Assembly, the decrees and resolutions of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the orders, decisions and instructions of the Council of Ministers;

--Detecting violations of the law, determining their causes and seeking to make the guilty parties responsible before the law, and to ensure that measures are taken for the execution of the law violated as well as measures of a preventive nature.

In regard to important matters which come to light during the inspection process, according to the case, the prosecutor reveals the findings of the inspection to the collectives of workers and the masses.

## **Article 12**

The office of the prosecutor has the obligation to become involved in the class and revolutionary education of the workers so that they will have a desire to implement the laws and make them known to the working masses.

## **Article 13**

The prosecutor is obliged to receive every announcement of the state organs, enterprises, institutions, economic and social organizations and every complaint and request of citizens and, as needs be, to review and verify their contents, notifying the person concerned in regard to their solution. The prosecutor is obliged to receive every disclosure on the commission of a crime and he passes it on to the appropriate organ.

## **Article 14**

The office of the prosecutor has the obligation to make studies and scientific generalizations on the implementation of the laws, in order to raise the level of its work and to influence the improvement of the activity of the state organs, the economic and social organizations, for the knowledge and exact and uniform implementation of the laws.

#### Article 15

The attorney general presents to the People's Assembly and the Presidium of the People's Assembly cases in which laws and decrees are not in accordance with the Constitution and he brings before the Council of Ministers cases in which its resolutions and orders are not in accordance with the laws, or when they are not exact, or when they do not correspond to new conditions.

#### Article 16

The prosecutor has the right to study and to bring up for review by the investigative organ or by the court every juridical act, all material which he needs in regard to the law which he is monitoring and every penal and civil case, on the basis of the provisions of the Code of Penal Procedure and of the Code of Civil Procedure.

The state organs, the institutions, the enterprises, the economic and social organizations, the investigative organs and the courts are obliged to respond to the requests of the prosecutor. Workers and citizens are obliged to give notices in writing or orally; when notice is given verbally the prosecutor can prepare a written account.

The prosecutor always has the right, in special cases, to enlist the help of specialists in order to execute his duties for the supervision of the implementation of the laws.

#### Article 17

The prosecutor has the right to be privy to all the material of the investigation at all times, and to be present during the investigative activities undertaken by the investigator.

The prosecutor approves the decisions for arrest and for house searches and other decisions stipulated in legal provisions.

The prosecutor exercises control over the implementation of the laws in the places where the persons detained, arrested or sentenced are held.

#### Article 18

The prosecutor has the right to take part in the judgement of every penal and civil case and to make requests. He has the obligation to expose penal actions, enemies and other evildoers and to exert an influence in educating citizens to be concerned about the implementation of the laws.

The prosecutor has the obligation to monitor the legality of the decisions of the courts and the implementation of the decisions on the basis of the Code of Penal Procedure and the Code of Civil Procedure.

## **Article 19**

The prosecutor issues protests or makes presentations and demands in the case of an illegal act or any other violation of the law.

## **Article 20**

A protest is an act by means of which the prosecutor requests the abrogation or modification of illegal decisions and other illegal acts of ministries and other central or local organs, of economic and social organizations, enterprises and institutions, and of investigative organs and courts.

The ministries and the other central and local organs, economic and social organizations, enterprises, institutions and military units are obliged to examine the protest of the prosecutor within 15 days of its issuance. The failure to examine the protest within this period suspends the implementation of the act.

The regulations stipulated in the Code of Penal Procedure and in the Code of Civil Procedure in regard to the deadline for the examination of the protest against decisions of the investigator, of the judge or of the court, are implemented.

## **Article 21**

The presentation is the act by means of which the prosecutor sets forth the violations of the laws, their causes, and the responsibility of the individuals and asks the responsible organ to take measures to make amends for the violation of the law.

The organs for which the presentation is intended are obliged to examine it within 30 days.

## **Article 22**

A requisition is an act by means of which the prosecutor, when he discovers violations of the law on the part of workers or citizens, depending on the violation, requests that the responsible organ initiate a penal case and take disciplinary, administrative or material measures and other measures provided by law. The organs are required to examine the requisition of the prosecutor within 20 days.

The prosecutor has the right, in cases stipulated by the Code of Civil Procedure, to bring civil charges before the court when he believes that the protection of state and social interests and of the interests of the citizens requires such a thing.

## **Article 23**

The prosecutor has the right to take part in meetings in which its protests, presentations or requisitions are examined. The organs must report on the measures which are taken.

#### Article 24

In particular, the people's prosecutor has the following rights and duties:

--He works so as to ensure that the working masses know the laws, he monitors their exact and uniform implementation and he intervenes to eliminate violations.

--He receives and helps to resolve complaints and questions of citizens dealing with violations of the laws.

--He participates, in accordance with the law, in the trials of the courts in the villages, cities and city districts; he monitors the legality and the implementation of the decisions of these courts; he lodges protests when permitted by the law.

--He prepares a written report on violations discovered and sends it to the appropriate organs.

#### Article 25

The internal organization of the office of the prosecutor is stipulated in regulations issued by the attorney general.

#### Article 26

Decree No 1790 of 28 December 1953, amended by Decree No 5322, of 30 June 1975, "On the Office of the Prosecutor of the People's Republic of Albania" is abrogated.

#### Article 27

This law goes into effect 15 days after its publication in GAZETA ZYRTARE.

Tirana, 27 March 1981

Law No 6298

Secretary of the Presidium of the  
People's Assembly of the People's  
Socialist Republic of Albania  
Xhafer Spahiu

Chairman of the Presidium of the  
People's Assembly of the People's  
Socialist Republic of Albania  
Haxhi Lleshi

CSO: 2100/100

NEED FOR AGITATION-PROPAGANDA WORK STRESSED

AU081251 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Jul 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us View the Tasks of the New 5-Year Period in Close Relation to Situations"]

[Text] At this moment, when we are discussing the draft directives for the new 5-year plan, 1981-85, a correct assessment of international political situations should further raise everyone's sense of responsibility in profoundly studying these draft directives, in discovering new reserves, in improving the plan's indicators and in daily fulfilling all tasks.

Our party has always followed developing situations carefully and vigilantly. It has profoundly analyzed foreign events and has defined a clear Marxist-Leninist position in connection with all international phenomena in accordance with the interests of our people and the world revolution. The party has clearly explained to all the people these situations and positions. All the correct, considered and principled analyses, assessments and positions of our party have always been fully supported by all the people, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the young people, women and all our working people. The work carried out with the masses in studying the party's materials, Comrade Enver's works and the major press articles on international events have raised the political and ideological awareness of the masses, have further strengthened their beliefs in the correctness of our party's Marxist-Leninist line and have increased their mobilization at work to meet every situation, to smash the encirclement and blockade and to fulfill the great tasks of building socialism and defending the country.

The aggressive and expansionist policy of the superpowers and of fascist and chauvinistic circles have generally exacerbated the international situation, as well as the situation in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. The freedom and independence of the peoples has been put in danger. Enraged by consecutive failures in their internal and external policies and eroded by unsurmountable difficulties, the Yugoslav revisionists, in agreement with Soviet social imperialism and all other enemies of our socialist country and of Marxism-Leninism, and following the tragic events in Kosovo caused by the Serbian chauvinists, have made numerous attacks against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and have indulged in slanders, falsifications and police-like fabrications.

This new situation induces us to further strengthen and raise the qualitative level of our propaganda and to intensify our political work in explaining the international situations and events around us. The party's documents and the press and radio-TV materials on international events are being followed with great interest by the masses. They should be widely commented upon in order to better clarify issues as they may arise. Special care is to be given to a differentiated organization of the political work carried out with the masses, particularly with young people, to better meet the requirements of various age groups of the population. Let us make as clear as possible to the masses the historical background of problems and of the consistent line pursued by our party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head throughout the past 40 years in building and defending socialism and in the struggle against modern revisionism of all hues and to defend our freedom, independence and Marxism-Leninism. A good and clear explanation of all problems will further increase the confidence and optimism of all our people in our strength, in the strength of our economy and defense, and in their own capabilities. It will also raise their vigilance and readiness to meet all situations and the mobilization of all our working people in fulfilling their tasks.

A major characteristic of our new 5-year plan also lies in the fact that it will be fulfilled in an exacerbated international situation arising from the profound economic and financial crisis that has gripped the entire world. The plan will also be fulfilled in struggle against the pressures exerted on us by this crisis, which constitutes an additional element to the fierce imperialist and revisionist blockade and encirclement. The enemies of our country and socialism are more enraged than ever because, being the only country successfully building and defending true socialism, we are blazing our way through without halting. They are doing all they possibly can to hurt us, to hinder us and to create difficulties for us. In their propaganda, the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries are prophesizing that we will be unable to fulfill our magnificent tasks relying entirely on our own efforts. But their dreams and wishes have never been and will never be fulfilled. Our entire economic development has advanced continually smashing the way through encirclements and blockades, through the pressures of external economic crises and through struggle against internal and external enemies and saboteurs. And we emerged victorious. The same will happen in the future. But the party teaches us that the new situations require a better and more profound understanding by the communists, the cadres and all working people, that they should follow events with great attention and that they should think about them and draw concrete conclusions concerning their own tasks, as well as those of their comrades and of the collective as a whole. These tasks must lead to increased production and productivity, the reduction of costs, higher quality, thrift, reduction of expenditures and imports, increased exports, the full utilization of machinery and equipment, the discovery of internal reserves, increased agricultural and livestock production and so forth. A correct understanding and evaluation of the situations must lead to stronger organization, control, management, coordination, cooperation, discipline and mutual account-rendering.

The work of the party organs and organizations and of all its instruments in explaining situations must be carried out in the way that the party has always instructed, that is, it must be systematically organized and planned, using all available means and in all possible forms. All communists and cadres, thousands of ardent activists and agitators in the mass organizations and all patriots must engage in the work of explaining the international situations and in concrete

political agitation. Every problem must be looked at from a political viewpoint and in close relations to situations. This must become a normal and daily practice in the method and style of work of all working people. The party organs and organizations and all its instruments have by now accumulated rich experience concerning the most effective ways and means of the educational perception, a highly developed class awareness and a great interest in what is happening around us and in the world. This is a great victory achieved by our party. Let us further develop this quality not only in order to further increase our political knowledge, but also to ensure that this knowledge may serve to define new tasks, to better meet all situations, to induce profound and stable beliefs in the correctness of the party's line and its positions and to make our people as aware as possible about the situations we are experiencing and the tasks arising therefrom. Revolutionary enthusiasm and mobilization at work will spring more strongly from this awareness. Creative capacities in production, the spirit of sacrifice and selflessness and massive heroism will be further raised. Obstacles will be surmounted more quickly, difficulties will be overcome more easily and the objectives of this 5-year period will be transformed into reality. Our socialist country will thus become more prosperous and stronger and our people will progress as always in steel-like unity with the party, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. We will show once again in this jubilee year of the 40th anniversary of the founding of our party the strength and vitality of our socialist order, the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and the correctness of our party's line.

CSO: 2100/98

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

LLESHI ATTENDS PEZA COMMEMORATION--The 40th anniversary of Comrade Enver Hoxha's meeting with the partisan guerrilla band of Peza was celebrated today in a village in Peza. Taking part in the meeting were veterans, exmembers of the partisan band of Peza, cooperativists, representatives of mass organizations, youths and others. "Also taking part were Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Myslim Peza, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Nesip Ibrahim, chairman of the District People's Council Executive Committee; Xhelil Gjoni, secretary of the District AWP Committee; Lumturi Rexha, first secretary of the Union of Working Youth of Albania's Central Committee; and other comrades." The meeting was opened by Nezir Gorica, AWP Central Committee member and director of "Myslim Peza" agricultural cooperatives. Myslim Peza, excommander of the Peza guerrilla unit, spoke about his memories of this occasion. [Summary] [AU121932 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 Jul 81]

CSO: 2100/98

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

ZHIVKOV ON AMNESTY BILL--Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian carries on pages 1 and 2 the 1,300-word text of Todor Zhivkov's speech delivered at the 7 July Sofia session of the National Assembly in which he explains to the deputies the motives for submitting such a draft bill to the National Assembly for discussions. Zhivkov says that the reason for submitting this draft amnesty bill to parliament is connected with the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state and "with the striving of Bulgaria and of the people's regime to again demonstrate their deep humanitarianism toward people who have violated the laws of our socialist society." He goes on to emphasize the stability of the people's regime and the legality of its social order. "However," he says, "our state, the organs of justice and the prosecutor's office will not allow the socialist system to be destroyed, the achievements of the working people encroached and their rights and privileges violated." After speaking about the country's reduced crime rate, he said that the aim of the draft amnesty bill is to "reeducate the violators and return them to society as adequate citizens." Zhivkov also dwells on the political significance of this draft bill by referring to those Bulgarian citizens who have illegally left Bulgaria and have failed to return home on time. He charges Western propaganda for influencing socialist country citizens to leave their fatherland. In conclusion, Zhivkov says that many Bulgarians abroad have already returned home and that the present amnesty draft bill presents an opportunity to those still abroad to assess their mistake and return to their families. [AU101814 Editorial Report]

COMPLAINTS AGAINST PZPR--Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 9 July on page 6 carries a 450-word report on Andrzej Zielinski's article "Blind and Impudent" published by TRYBUNA LUDU on 8 July. The report does not comment on the article. It cites figures from Zielinski's article dealing with "unjustifiable complaints against PZPR members." [AU131320 Editorial Report]

SRV ANNIVERSARY--Hanoi VNA July 5--Bulgarian leaders on July 6 sent a message of congratulations to Vietnamese leaders on the fifth anniversary of the National Reunification Day and the founding of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The message was jointly signed by Todor Zhivkov, general-secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov [name as received], chairman of the Council of Ministers, and addressed to Le Duan, general-secretary of the VCP Central Committee, Truong Chinh, chairman of the Council of State and Pham Van Dong, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The message highly praised the Vietnamese people's past struggle for

freedom, independence and territorial integrity which paved the way or the building of a unified socialist Vietnam. It highlighted the Vietnamese people's great achievements in their present socialist construction and national defence in spite of the tension created by the imperialists and Chinese expansionists. The message says: The Socialist Republic of Vietnam's foreign policy of peace has enhanced Vietnam's international prestige. Vietnam's fraternal solidarity with the Lao and Kampuchean peoples in implementing the policy of peace and cooperation with neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia has been vigorously supported by the Bulgarian people and the world people as a whole. Constructive proposals along the above-mentioned line were worked out at the recent Indochinese foreign ministers' conference. "Loyal to their proletarian internationalist obligations, the Bulgarian Communist Party and people will continue to support the Vietnamese people in their national defence and socialist construction," the message reaffirmed. It wished the Vietnamese people happiness and further achievements in their socialist construction. "May the unshakeable friendship between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Vietnam, between the Bulgarian and Vietnamese peoples constantly develop." [Text] [OW091645 Hanoi VNA in English 1554 GMT 9 Jul 81]

CONDOLENCES TO KHOMEINI--Sofia, 1 Jul (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, sent to Mr Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, a message of condolence in connection with the terrorist act which caused the tragic death of a big group of state and political figures and other Iranian citizens. Sincere condolences and deep sympathy are expressed to the families of the victims of this act. [Text] [AU012020 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 1 Jul 81]

MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS--Multilateral agreements among Cuba, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR and the Soviet Union on the development of sugar production in Cuba were signed in Sofia today. A multinational agreement among Cuba, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, the Soviet Union and the CSSR on cooperation in fulfilling the program for producing citrus fruits in Cuba was also signed. The documents were signed by the foreign trade ministers of the respective countries. [Text] [AU041734 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 4 Jul 81]

CSO: 2200/136

EMIGRE PUBLICATION REPORTS ON CALCIU CASE

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 28 Jul 81 p 1.

[Article: "A Disgraceful Denigrating Telegram and False Accusations of the Soviet-Romanian Patriarchate Against the Martyr Priest Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa"]

[Excerpts] On 12 and 13 June there was a protest demonstration in Cologne organized by the "Association for Human Rights in Romania" of Frankfurt, for the reunification of families. The demonstration took place in front of the Romanian Embassy and on the main streets of the city. On 1 July the above-mentioned committee received from the patriarchate in Bucharest a telegram, in German, referring to the demonstration, organized by Amnesty International, to be held in Cologne on 4 July. The Red patriarchate was tricked by the addressee into sending the aforementioned telegram which reveals the authors of this shameful text, signed in the name of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church, the chairman of the commission for foreign relations, Metropolitan Nicolae of the Banat, and the secretary for the same area, none other than Bishop Antonie of Buzau. Here are the principal passages of this shameful telegram which no priest with any fear of God would have signed:

"With astonishment and deep regret we have learned that recently some newspapers and radio broadcasts in the FRG have been disseminating untruths about the Romanian Orthodox Church and its relations with the state, untruths which have saddened and angered the clergy and the faithful of our church. In addition, we have discovered, with consternation, that the organization of demonstrations in support of "the former priest Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa is scheduled for 4 July as a protest against so-called 'religious persecutions' in Romania."

Then the telegram speaks about the two theological schools and the six seminaries in which 3,500 future Orthodox clergymen are being trained, stating that an active religious life is being carried on in the monasteries, that 10 religious reviews are being published; that 100,000 bibles are being printed, that there is no lack of young priests, that the church has good relations with the Evangelical and Catholic churches throughout the world, and that foreign visitors have only words of praise for church life in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The telegram repeats the accusations of the Securitate against Calciu, namely, that at the age of 6 he joined the fascist "Iron Guard" organization and then, at the age of 17, he "was active in a subversive fascist group which aimed at the

overthrowal of the new political regime in the country (the one installed by Vishinsky on 6 March 1945) and that in 1949 he was sentenced to jail for his terrorist actions" without stating the different ages of Calciu in this "terrorist" honor roll.

The telegram continues: "After he was released from jail, the new reg're in our country gave him the opportunity to take courses in the faculty of philology and to teach in a school in Bucharest. For unknown reasons he took courses in the Theological Institute in Bucharest. When he completed these courses, at the age of 48, he was ordained a priest - our church did not know about his earlier political activity. As a professor of foreign languages in the Theological Seminary, he encouraged the pupils to oppose higher authorities of the school and church and tried to instill in them nationalistic and neo-fascist ideas. After he received numerous warnings from the professorial council he was removed from his teaching position in May 1979 and the church authorities offered him a number of positions as a priest in Bucharest. However, since Gh. Calciu was able to make a living translating scientific and atheistic literature, he refused these positions and became active as 'The Great Defender of Religious Freedom and Human Rights'."

Later on the telegram says: "Keeping in mind our great responsibility to God and man not to allow in our ranks any manifestation which would conflict with the spirit of our belief and tradition and which would damage the relations of our church with the faithful and with the state, we believe that the subversion undertaken by Calciu has turned against him and that he has excluded himself from our ranks, both as a priest and as a citizen, as a result of his political activity. As you see, he was not arrested because he exercised his religious duties but because of his neo-fascist political activity."

This telegram deserves only one comment: it does not say that Calciu served a sentence of 10 years but it stresses that he was arrested for political activity as a neo-fascist, without giving any proof of this and not mentioning at all the 10 sermons which he gave to the faithful from the steps of the Radu Voda Church or his protest against the destruction of the Ene Church.

CSO: 2700/350

FESTIVE MEETING MARKS MONGOLIAN ANNIVERSARY

AU101230 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1100 ZMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jul (AGERPRES)--A festive meeting was organized in Bucharest on 9 July by the municipal party committee on the 60th anniversary of the victorious Mongolian People's Revolution.

Participating were Virgil Cazacu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Alexandru Margaritescu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, Stan Soare, deputy head of section at the CC of the RCP, Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and many working people from Bucharest enterprises.

Constantin Manolescu, chairman of the Romanian-Mongolian Friendship Association, spoke about the historic significance of the event 60 years ago. He also referred to the good relations existing between the Romanian Communist Party and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, between the two peoples and countries. The speaker underlined the importance the meetings between Nicolae Ceausescu and Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal had for the amplification of these relations on multiple planes.

In his speech, Mongolia's ambassador in Bucharest, Bamdariyn Dugersuren, highlighted the Mongolian people's success in developing industry and agriculture as well as in the sociocultural domain. He referred to the good relations existing between the two peoples, pointing to the effective support Romania gave to his country for the building by the Romanian experts of economic and social units in the Mongolian People's Republic.

CSO: 2020/59

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

RADULESCU RECEIVES FINNISH COMMUNISTS--Bucharest, 10 Jul (AGERPRES)--Ilie Radulescu, secretary of the CC of the RCP, received on 10 July Eino Leino, member of the secretariat of the CC of the Communist Party of Finland, and Ismo Kuiviala, first secretary of the Helsinki Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of Finland, who paid a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP. During the talk, they exchanged views on the current targets and preoccupations of the RCP and CPF, and both parties expressed the wish to develop and deepen further on the good relations between the two parties, in the interests of the Romanian and Finnish peoples, of the cause of peace, security, national independence, social progress and international collaboration. Aspects of the current international life were also discussed. [Text] [AU101822 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 10 Jul 81]

EDUCATION MEETING CONCLUDES--Bucharest, 3 Jul (AGERPRES)--On 3 July proceedings concluded in Bucharest of the 14th conference of deputy ministers of speciality higher and medium education of CEMA member socialist countries, dedicated to problems posed by the assistance granted to developing countries in the field of national-cadre training. The conference occasioned a wide exchange of experience on the problems concerning the admission to studies and schooling by CEMA member countries of youth from developing countries, as well as to sending experts and didactic staff to those countries in view of supporting them in the cadre-training process. While in Romania the participant delegations visited education units, social and economic objectives and called on the Ministry of Education and Instruction. The conference proceeded in an atmosphere of collaboration, mutual esteem and understanding. [Text] [AU031847 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 3 Jul 81]

COMAN RECEIVES CANADIAN COMMUNISTS--Bucharest, 10 Jul (AGERPRES)--Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, met on 10 July Samuel Walsh and Janette Walsh, members of the political bureau of the Communist Party of Canada, holidaying in Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP. Information was exchanged on the current concerns of the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Canada, the joint wish being expressed to further develop the good relations between the two countries, on the basis of mutual esteem and respect, in the interests of the Romanian and Canadian peoples, of the cause of peace, security and national independence, of international cooperation and collaboration. The interview, which passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere, occasioned an exchange of cordial greetings between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and William Kashtan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada. [Text] [AU101910 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1825 GMT 10 Jul 81]

PROFESSOR MUHIC ANALYZES UNREST IN KOSOVO

Sarajevo SVLJET in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jun 81 pp 14-15

[Article by Dr Fuad Muhic: "The Dead-End Streets of History"]

[Text] Among the factors whose internal interrelations brought about certain of the most recent events in our society, those which might be referred to as factors within the party deserve particular attention of researchers. On this occasion we would dwell solely on those of them which can be directly or indirectly related to views concerning the role of the LCY in building socialist self-management. And while it would not be correct to say that the confusion on this question which at times can be traced back several years, can be classified as one of the principal causes of those events, its influence still must not be neglected to the extent that one does not speak about it at all (at times it may even be deliberately covered up). From this standpoint, and with full responsibility for what shall be said, we need to say that our party theory has often in the past been subject to an impermissible experimentation whose harmfulness, by no means accidentally, was capable of being manifested precisely in those events in Kosovo.

If we take as our point of departure the certain logic, distorted though it may be, of that experimentation, it will not be difficult for us to immediately reconstruct the goal which was being aimed at. The advocates of certain viewpoints did not even wait for our society to reconcile itself to the fact that Tito is no longer living among us, but hastened, with a zeal which has caused surprise on more than one occasion, to question not only democratic centralism as a historically tested principle of the organization of our party, but also to raise the issue of the very survival of the LCY as a revolutionary party. We are not referring here to the themes of the "rightwing" and "leftwing" alternatives we have already written about, but to open attempts to abuse the space offered by various newspapers and magazines and also the discussions conducted in them for typical ideological contraband. What else is one to think, for example, about the following passage, which proclaimed itself to be a "contribution" to the discussions in advance of the 12th LCY Congress: "However, in examining these issues we should put the question of the withering away of the party in theoretical terms. At present we do not have a scientific theory of that kind. We are in the habit of talking about the withering away of the state; according to some people, the political monopoly (the party) would in that process also

wither away to the same degree and at the same rate, on a parallel line. We should bear in mind in this connection that the constitution has set forth the vanguard, ideological and political role of the League of Communists and has defined some of the direct influences on the basic positions of the social system (elements of the one-party system). The second most important precondition for debating the specific content of the LC [League of Communists] is verification of the assertion that it is not possible for one system of relations to prevail in society while another system of relations prevails in the LC. Since we have a self-management system of relations in society, relations of that kind should be stimulated and built within the League of Communists itself."\*

In the light of the most recent events we have experienced, a thesis like this obviously moves on the fringe of political good sense. Unfortunately, it was uttered less than 4 months ago. But regardless of that, we would not pay attention to it if each of us had not been inevitably faced with the question--What would come of our community if a reactionary orientation were to come about that was so frivolous, irresponsible or plain crazy as to adopt as its political program in our historical space and time today the platform of the withering away of the party? Certainly, the practical patterns of behavior in the spirit of this thesis, of which there are quite a few in our everyday life, are more interesting than the thesis itself, which in the political theory of Marxism (insofar as it is mentioned at all) is fixed only as a strategic goal in the lengthy process of the historical emancipation of the working class, and therefore due critical attention should be paid to both aspects.

Party federalism was a roundabout way of realizing these conceptions about the withering away of the party. This platform, as an alternative to democratic centralism, has already been discussed in one of the recent issues of SVLJET. As for what was stated at that time in criticism of that "alternative," we would add that the intentions of the criticism were confirmed in all respects. That is, the analyses made so far have shown that the inroads of behavior and mentality proper to party federalism within one of the provincial leagues was extremely important as a factor in the crisis. All the shortcomings of a platform which in various ways wanted also to be legally present in the debates in advance of the 12th LCY Congress, the first without Tito, but not without his inspiration, which was considerably jeopardized by raising the issue of democratic centralism, have been manifested in practice.

In a sense the pattern of certain tendencies in our party life from the early seventies recurred in Kosovo, though, it seems, with a strengthened internal intensity. The party-federalism mentality once again gradually led to the creation of a set of ideological premises concerning the self-sufficiency of the provincial league and its actual independence of the LCY as a whole, or, at best, of a loose confederal linkage established mainly with federal party forums. Ideological premises of this kind quickly grew to become a case of hysteria in which all criticism, even the most well-intentioned, began to be seen

\* Nebojsa Djelovic: "Self-Management Relations in the LC," NIN, 22 March 1981. The author, who incidentally is no one we know, took advantage of the occasion of a broad discussion which NIN presented in an interesting way over several issues to present a view which immediately aroused the reaction of the readers themselves.

as "intervention in internal affairs." All the psychological preconditions were created for this criticism, if it came from neighboring national communities, to be proclaimed nationalistic, and if it came from the other republics--to be proclaimed unitaristic and paternalistic. Only in this way is it possible to understand that a part of the provincial leadership, which fell prey to this hysteria or was responsible for its going still deeper, neglected even Tito's and Kardelj's warnings about indications of counterrevolution.

This hysteria--which quickly began to turn into an allergic condition and neurotic behavior toward everything that could not be seen as "one's own" in the narrow nationalistic sense--developed in an atmosphere in which the very term "sovereignty" was gradually taken to the limits of political vulgarization and nonsense. Defined under the 1974 Constitution as a symbol of the other original and inalienable rights of our republics and provinces, the forces favoring disintegration quickly extended this term to three areas--the economy, party life and the system of political values--in which it has no place from the programmatic standpoint, nor from the standpoint of practical politics, nor ultimately from the standpoint of history. Economic sovereignty existed only as another expression for the closing off of a market (when it fitted within the framework of particularized interests) and for accusation of others for the same behavior (when this cut against those same interests). Party sovereignty--frequently conceived in an absolutized sense--was a tendency of individuals and groups with leaderistic ambitions, who liked the image of the LCY as a "party with a balance of power." This expression was meant to signify a situation in which the republic and provincial centers have a mutually equalized position and at the same time a "guaranteed" distance from one another with respect to nonintervention in internal affairs. At the same time this position led to an actual challenging of the right of the majority in the LCY to examine the true state of affairs in the party and thereby to a challenging of the basic principle of democratic centralism. The purpose was to make the power of federal forums of the LCY only symbolic if it exceeded the framework of the party federalism so conceived. As we look back today, it is increasingly obvious that these leaderistic ambitions were much better suited by the conception of republic and provincial party sovereignty as a screen behind which statism would become stronger and at the same time the power of those wielding it in "their own house," than they were by the development of self-management as an integrated Yugoslav process or by party cohesiveness in the spirit of revolutionary traditions. The events in Kosovo, insofar as the mentality and actions of a portion of the leadership are concerned, were a faithful reflection of these tendencies. A "republic" actually would be created by the achievement of statehood, by the completion of party sovereignty and by the privileged personnel treatment of one nationality, but it would be built on those statist, unitaristic (from the standpoint of the non-Albanian population) and nationalistic foundations against which President Tito first rose up in 1966 in order to dissolve the foundations of the bureaucratic domination that had prevailed until that time, when they were aimed against the historical integrity of the Albanians. There isn't the least necessity to guess about the fact that the new "republic" would in the very near future head not only toward a confederative relationship, but indeed to one of secessionism. This is plainly indicated by the documents of illegal groups whose activity had been going on for quite a long time while many competent forums and especially individuals had their heads buried in the political

sand. We will put a frank question--Is there really an insurmountable difference between the programs of those groups (indoctrination of the Kosovo population with a nationalistic system of values, turning the province into a republic and then even into a sovereign state with the prospect of secession, and hasty breaking off of all relations with the Yugoslav community, unqualified orientation toward Albania, creation of a mononational territory, etc.) and the practical behavior of a portion of the leadership at all levels in the province? The question is all the more to the point in that our revolution found itself in a situation in which because of the threat to its achievements it could debate only the objective consequence of an action that was long prepared, but could not debate whether someone "wanted them" or they came about as the result of someone's "laxity." Which brings us back once again to the internal problems of the party.

Kosovo is not a republic as that term is defined in constitutional law, but a part of its leadership did everything to behave in a federalistic way in party life. Like the "leaders" of the "mass movement" in the past, it seems that they were seeking new "subjects" in forces other than the working class, but all that they managed to bring to life was the rightwing ideology of "blood and soil." Liberalism toward those who embodied this ideology found fertile ground in describing all external criticism as "intervention in internal affairs." From the moment when premises of this kind were created, nothing thereafter was regarded as authentic except what could be derived from the mythologized "ancient past" of national existence. The irrationality of the nationalistic and even racial resentment that we are not Slavs overflowed to become the dominant content of consciousness and its psychopathic political obsession, which became increasingly intense as it became ever more firmly convinced that the vacillation of the leadership toward its intentions had all the prospects for being the overture to retreat of the entire LCY, leaving the stage clear for the advance of new forces. That was a moment which demonstrated that in moments of crisis opportunism and vacillation become equal in their ultimate effect to conscious assent to the consequences, and that in this sense the difference between "resignations" and "dismissals" is more than just a matter of terminology.

Within the limits of what we have learned so far, it is difficult to escape the impression that the political act which took place in Kosovo gathered into itself the features of almost all the oppositionist endeavors we have come to be familiar with, so that its description in political terms cannot be a simple one. It would seem that our "radical critics" emanating from the New Left have the greatest reason to be content from the methodological standpoint. Their anarchoid catchphrases about "self-determination," "unsparring criticism of everything that exists," of a "new historical coalition of revolutionary students, intellectuals and workers," along with the unambiguous demand for dissolving or displacing the LCY, could hardly have encountered a fuller attempt at realization. We do not assert that every demonstrator had read the writings of some of our "radicals," but the identical nature of the negative dispositions was equally obvious, indicating once again, as Gyorgy Lukacs once wrote, that "no view of the world is innocent."

A nationalistic rebellion is always rightwing by its very nature, but it is never precluded that it could break out under slogans of the "nonparty left." We are reminded once again of the "mass movement": It also came forth with socialist demands, didn't it, and referred precisely to Marx on many essential points? The same was the case with liberalism. The pattern has now repeated itself in Kosovo: One nationalism has appeared simultaneously as both separate and unitaristic. The separate tendencies were displayed toward the Yugoslav community, and the unitaristic toward the members of other ethnic communities, of whom it can be said without any sort of equivocation that they were reduced to second-class citizens (after the Albanian model) at the moment when the desired statehood was officially instituted. The parallels are once again inescapable: In the discussions about the constitutional amendments at the outset of the seventies the Croatian nationalists also insisted on a definition of their republic as primarily the state of the Croatian people, which immediately resulted in an appeal by Serbian nationalists to "rally around" the nucleus from which they sprang, and the demand for creation of an autonomous province in Croatia. In that confused atmosphere of a raging rightwing utopia it did not take long for the voice of Moslem nationalism to be heard and to seek national institutions for the purpose of "independent defense" against euphoric assaults from other communities. When Albanian nationalism, then, comes forth with demands for altogether the same claims, its spokesmen are striving only to turn our history back once again into some dead-end street, though they appear not to be aware that like their predecessors they are only uttering the verdict of their own ruin. The "Marxism" which they advocate is a miserable remnant of the Stalinist mentality which we dealt with long ago in our historic time. This judgment applies equally to all those rightwing and anarchoid admixtures of foreign matter which it attempts to disguise by ultraleftist dogmatic phrases and sclerotized appeals to the classics of Marxism and Leninism.

The events in Kosovo confronted the LCY with a truth which must become the motivation of a party campaign in the preparations for the 12th congress: It was the very last moment to put an end to the experiment whose ultimate goal was to question democratic centralism so that it might quickly be replaced by some other principle. All the alternatives offered ("democratic unity of action," party federalism, constitutional withering away of the LCY and the like) have been exposed by experience itself as ideological reflexes of liberalism of a kind that has never suited the historical existence of the LCY and our revolution in general. If our present-day Marxist theory has never at any point denied the significant achievements of bourgeois democracy, which it achieved in the spirit of liberal political philosophy and in the context of party pluralism, this in no case signified opening up an uncontrolled opportunity for uncritical acceptance and the taking over of a model of behavior "lock, stock and barrel" which in our context produces essentially different results than those in the West. It is therefore worth emphasizing for the umpteenth time that the fight against anarcholiberalistic, rightwing and ultraleftwing platforms in Yugoslavia does not at the same time signify a restraint on democracy, but a struggle either against various anachronisms or against "innovations" of a kind that their penchant for meretricious phraseology usually makes them irresponsible toward themselves and toward society itself. Those who assert the opposite and confuse the terms "strong party" and "party of power" and identify strengthening the integrative force of the LCY with its being transformed into a

"hard-line party" are nothing other than conscious opponents of socialist self-management or confused critics who are trying to use high-flown intellectual categories to disguise their resentment because of their weakness. At times it is difficult to discern who is the more dangerous of them, but it is equally certain that criticism dare not overlook either one.

7045

CSO: 2800/307

INDISCIPLINE NOTED IN TITOGRAD MILITARY DISTRICT

AU282041 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 81 p 12

[Report by Tihomir Vasiljevic]

[Excerpts] The Committee of the League of Communists of the Titograd Military District has positively appraised the activity of the organization of the League of Communists, commands and other subjective factors in improving and strengthening the combat readiness and the moral-political unity of the district's units and institutions. At the same time it pointed out to the organizations and organs of the League of Communists that, despite the fact that significant results have been achieved in the past period, in the second half of last year certain pronounced shortcomings became apparent and they could have a negative effect on the combat readiness and the moral-political unity of units and institutions.

These shortcomings manifest themselves in insufficient discipline of individuals as well as in their lack of knowledge of and failure to follow the regulations. All this shows the need to unify and intensify the criteria in appraising the achieved level of combat readiness and to more objectively appraise all phenomena that might affect the combat readiness and the moral-political unity as well as the need for continuity of the necessary preventive measure to eliminate negative phenomena. To achieve that it is necessary to intensify the personal responsibility of every individual member of the League of Communists and of all members of units.

Communists, officers and commands and not just officers commanding troops are responsible for the state of discipline and order, the committee stated at its session. The aim of further work must be to improve and strengthen conscious discipline, to improve the knowledge of rules and regulations and to increase responsibility for implementing them. The communists must strive to advance the organization of work, to promote cultural, entertainment and sports activities, to know the men, and to introduce various educational and stimulative measures which would help prevent arbitrary departures from units and unjustified absences from work for the purpose of personal business and so forth.

Human relations have a very important place in strengthening combat readiness and moral-political unity. The district's units and institutions have achieved notable results in this respect but the committee insists that human relations must be a matter of constant concern of communists and the organizations and organs of the League of Communists. A resolute struggle against all violations of human relations must be waged in all communities where any such violations have occurred.

CSO: 2800/322

SCHOLAR NOTES LACK OF FREEDOM IN ALBANIA

AU301645 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jun 81 p 15

[Report on interview with Halit Trnavci, head of the Department for Albanian Studies at Belgrade University by Rajko Djuric--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Kadare, author of the well-known book "General of the Dead Army," belongs in the ranks of the most important writers of contemporary European literature. As far as we know, his books were translated into some 40 languages. However, that undoubtedly great and important writer has become willy-nilly a part of the Albanian propaganda machinery. How do you explain this?

[Answer] There is nothing strange in it. All those who stayed a short or long time in Albania know how one lives and thinks in that country. Thinking "measured" by truncheon is still in force in Albania. Working on a project of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and also earlier, I was in the scientific institutions in Albania and had talks with some of their scientists. Nobody even including intellectuals, is allowed to speak openly about any issue and problem in Albania, not even in the presence of his closest--wife, children or parents. I convinced myself about this by what I saw personally. I also know of some tragic cases. An Albanian from Kosovo, for instance, a few years ago moved with his family to Albania legally. Disappointed by the life and the situation in that country, he made a few critical remarks about the system in Albania. Because of his essentially quite innocent statement made among friends and acquaintances, he was sentenced to a 25-year prison term; under pressure, even his wife and daughter renounced him. However, despite this, an intellectual has a special responsibility. To be in the service of untruth, as Kadare--who had the opportunity to directly acquaint himself with life and work in our country and in Kosovo--is doing, is, to put it as mildly as possible, dishonorable. Hatred, as Camus said on an occasion, is always directed against oneself. Kadare, who is undoubtedly a great writer, should have known this. But we should not forget that everyone is responsible before history. Even Kadare will not be exempt from the judgment of history.

Albania At Close Range

[Question] You were in Albania several times. What impressions did you gain about that country, people and system?

[Answer] The country offers a very miserable picture. . . . ll dug up, bunkers are, so to say, at every step. As far as people are concerned—I have personal friends among them—I think that it would be wrong and inaccurate to put all the blame on them. No, among them there are wonderful and honest people. However, one should understand that they live under heavy armor; the Albanian system has transformed the whole country into a ghetto, a hell. If you approach a person in the streets of Tirana, he will turn his head. Nobody is allowed to say anything to you, unless your "escort" approves. People live in a frightful psychosis. They are constantly under the impression that they are surrounded by enemies. And this is, in fact, also systematically presented to them. And when I hear what HARI I POPULLIT writes, then I do not know how anyone can believe even for a moment those loathsome lies. They speak about national freedoms, yet they withhold freedoms to the members of their own nation—not to say anything about members of the national minorities—Greeks, Macedonians, Vlachs, Serbs, Montenegrins and Romanies. Members of these national minorities have, as far as I know, no rights and conditions for the development of their culture.

[Question] Comrade Trnavci, it is said and written that the "process of differentiation in Kosovo is slow." What is your view about that and is that appraisal correct?

[Answer] It is, I would say, the truth that deserves to be explained in greater detail. When what is involved is the "process of differentiation," then it is necessary to say that this process is the slowest among leaders, among the responsible people in Kosovo, before whose eyes Albanian chauvinism and irredentism grew and spread unhindered. Some of the responsible people are trying to conceal or diminish their personal responsibility. Their concern continues to be positions and posts. I personally know how certain officials of Albanian nationality brought their close or distant relatives to posts. One could make an entire genealogy of this peculiar kind of nepotism that is, regrettably, present now also. I will speak about it openly at a session of the communal conference of the League of Communists of Kosovska Mitrovica, to which I have been invited.

CSO: 2800/319

**YUGOSLAVIA**

**MACEDONIAN LC HANDLING OF ALBANIAN PROBLEM EXPLAINED**

**Scopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 27 Jun 81 SABOTA Supplement p 3**

[Interview with Boro Denkov, secretary of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the LCM, conducted by Pande Kolemisevski: "In Open Battle"]

[Text] Albanians in the SRM do not need any sort of particular protection, and even less so if such protectors happen to be domestic or foreign enemies. The Macedonians should not be the only ones to fight for equality in our republic. Albanians should fight for it as well. Ideological-political work must be intensified further.

The intensive sociopolitical efforts being made by the League of Communists of Macedonia is specifically manifested also in holding of election meetings of opshchina LC conferences in the republic. The meetings are characterized by the frankness with which essential questions are discussed on the subject of ideological-political activities of the LC and its involvement in the battle for surmounting problems of the area, the republic and the LC itself. Comprehensive studies and evaluations are being made of the organization and activities of the primary LC organizations, the involvement of the membership in the implementation of the tasks set by society and the party, the development of socialist self-management relations, the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization and the consideration of individual problems.

The assessment of the political security situation, in terms of counterrevolutionary activities and manifestations of great-Albanian nationalistic and irredentist positions, is a structural part of the overall sociopolitical activity and one of the items on the agenda.

The expanded election meeting of the opshchina LCM conference in Debar was attended by Boro Denkov, secretary of the presidency of the Central Committee of the LCM. More of his statements are presented in today's conversation, published in the Saturday supplement of NOVA MAKEDONIJA.

[Question] You said at the Debar meeting that many people showed their concern about our situation and about Albanians in the SRM. Could you tell us who supports such concern and is it needed by anyone?

[Answer] I stressed at the Debar meeting that Albanians in the SRM do not need any special concern on the part of any sort of protector, and even less so if such

protectors are domestic or foreign enemies. I also had in mind the ideas expressed on having a republic of Albanians in Yugoslavia and the harmful concern shown by Albania for Albanians in Yugoslavia. I say harmful, for as we see such concern is supported by extreme reactionaries and their vestiges in Yugoslavia and is leading to a fratricidal struggle. The situation of Albanian nationals in Yugoslavia is based on the progressive development of the global process known as the struggle for peace and socialism. Therefore, such nationals cannot tolerate black shirts, fascists, Informbureau supporters, Stalinists and so on. Such people will be fought. That is why I say that Tirana's concern is harmful and truly leads to a fratricidal struggle.

#### Big Illusion

[Question] What have you learned concerning the political situation in our republic in the course of the past three months?

[Answer] The discussion and particularly the speech I heard in Debar indicated that we have acquired extensive knowledge and made assessments concerning the events in Kosovo. I think that this is good. However, I am even more pleased by the fact that we have acquired extensive knowledge concerning the political situation in our republic. That is why I think that there is no justification for the fact that even after three months since we began to deal with this problem, we are still not seeing stronger ideological-political efforts aimed at quickly eliminating unhealthy bad situations. I think that the time has come to conclude the studies and speeches and undertake specific political actions on the basis of a clear program.

[Question] Can we base assessments of conditions in our republic exclusively on the Kosovo events?

[Answer] The assessment of our condition based on the Kosovo example would make our efforts sterile. We cannot insist on the unspoken or occasionally expressed idea that the situation in Kosovo is obviously bad and that if matters are improved there they will be improved throughout Yugoslavia. If we follow this idea, the main task now would be for the people of Kosovo to engage in the struggle while everyone else stands aside, thinking that whenever the situation there improves, our situation would improve as well a priori.

I think that this is a big illusion. We have the same social, economic and national structure and historical heritage as the Kosovo population, as the Albanians, Serbians and Montenegrins of Kosovo. What we consider most important in the formulation of ideas leading to activities not different in any way from those which preceded the Kosovo demonstrations or which were manifested in the course of the demonstrations themselves. We have also exposed and condemned an enemy group of Albanian irredentist nationalists. We also have defectors, hostile slogans and desecrations but not everywhere or to such an extent. Nevertheless, such things have happened and are happening. For this reason we must not nurture the illusion that if conditions in Kosovo improve, conditions throughout Yugoslavia, including Macedonia, will improve as well. Everyone must clean up his own back yard. This is not merely a question of errors but of indications of opportunism.

## Achievement of Equality

[Question] One of the humiliating theses of the counterrevolutionaries is that Albanians in Yugoslavia, including Macedonia, are not the equal of the other nations and nationalities. This is a thesis which we reject totally. What is being done or how should we judge of the implementation of the policy of equality?

[Answer] It would be unrealistic to believe that on the level of the implementation of the policy of equality we have done everything necessary. However, this policy is not a one-time action on the part of the biggest nation or the dominant nation within a sociopolitical union. It is not a charity policy. It is an action in the course of which all nations and nationalities must make their contribution to ensuring conditions for equal and identical political, social, self-management and material life and development of any one of our citizens regardless of his national origin. It is an active policy.

In our republic it is not the Macedonians alone who must struggle for its implementation but the Albanians as well. This policy will be entirely implemented if all of us together work for the implementation of the policy of equality to the extent to which we create an objective material foundation for it. Such a material foundation must not be created by someone more than someone else. I believe that everyone can invest efforts so that we may create a maximum amount of income which tomorrow we shall channel into the solution of a number of significant problems and for the creation of the material foundations of a policy of equality. I believe that we have not done enough in this sense. However, nor am I mistaken in thinking that we have done nothing to prevent that which occurred in Kosovo, to prevent the manifestation of a truly destructive enemy activity based on nationalistic and irredentist feelings. Actually, all studies of actual conditions and relations within society show that very significant results have been achieved on this level, truly impressive results. Nevertheless, problems remain.

[Question] What are you referring to?

[Answer] In my view the enemy, whether domestic or foreign, has the intention of destroying the foundations of our society and creating conditions for the separation of parts of the single natural body, the body which is and will remain forever Yugoslavia. The enemy's intention is to threaten the integrity and sovereignty of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or, in our case, of the socialist republic of Macedonia. Therefore, the way the policy of equality is being implemented, with greater or lesser intensity, is not the problem. The intentions are different. Had the problem been one of equality, it could have been dealt with differently, through political treaties and within the framework of the League of Communists, rather than through demonstrations and counterrevolutionary activities. Obviously, these are not constructive activities. They are activities aimed at destroying this society and this system. I believe that we must protect all our people, particularly our young generation, from such activities.

[Question] One of the problems of the ideological-political activities carried out by the League of Communists lately is that of manifestations of great-Albanian nationalism and irredentism. How is the battle against them and against other harmful manifestations and trends developing?

[Answer] We intend to focus our main forces on this problem and deal with it most actively without, however, neglecting other ideological problems. This is not to say that while we are struggling against Albanian nationalism and irredentism that other antisocialist and antiself-management actions may not appear, or else, on the other hand, that Macedonian nationalism may not appear, for today we are saying that the main struggle will be aimed at Albanian nationalism. Other harmful and dangerous manifestations of ideas may also be found in our society. That is why we shall be fighting along the entire ideological front but the main strike will be aimed at the subversive activities of Albanian irredentist nationalism. This nationalism is acting most specifically in undermining the gains of our people's liberation war and our socialist revolution.

This neither means nor should be interpreted as a tolerance of our Macedonian nationalism. We shall be dealing with it as well. We can cite specific examples of this fact. I think that it is only in this manner that we shall be able to contribute in the complex political situation of Yugoslavia, as most specifically manifested in Kosovo. Actually, what is nationalism? I believe that always, both in practical and theoretical terms, it is manifested as the ideology of nondemocratic, chauvinistic and socialist reactionary groups use the people's love of their own nation and people for reactionary and aggressive purposes. We have no right to tell any Macedonian that it is shameful to love his Macedonian people. We cannot tell a single Albanian that it is a shame to love his Albanian people. However, this love shown by the Albanian, the Macedonian, the Serbian or any other member of our nations and nationalities for his people must not be misused by nationalists for their reactionary purposes. The end product of such activities becomes reactionary.

[Question] It is known that some outside elements play a great role in the growing great-Albanian nationalism and irredentism. What is your view about them and their activities?

[Answer] One thing is clear: Both the domestic and foreign enemies of socialist Yugoslavia and, separately, of each nation and nationality within Yugoslavia, have been exposed entirely. They are a handful of enemies with their foreign and domestic centers. We have identified them and I believe that we shall be able to frustrate them very shortly. I cannot say how far the threads of this organized action go, but I feel that they would be extensive and numerous. The work is not so simple as to be accomplished overnight, but neither is it all that complex in terms of engaging in a cleanup and inaugurating constructive and broad processes leading to the political consolidation of the situation in Yugoslavia, something which, in my view, is a matter of the relatively immediate future.

#### Enemy Alliance

[Question] An unusual alliance has been created among the enemies of Yugoslavia. Who supports its policy and way of action?

[Answer] All of us are of the opinion that these are irredentist, monarchic, ballistic, dogmatic and Stalinist efforts in the country and abroad. A strange alliance has been formed between Stalinists and fascists, monarchists and reactionaries and atheists with Islam, with the only objective of achieving their great illusion and,

with the help of such a hostile coalition, to make an attempt on the integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia and of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities. It may seem paradoxical but it is clear that both here and in Albania and throughout Europe the Stalinists, who are atheists, have allied themselves with the black shirts, the royalists. These are strange alliances made for the only purpose of an unworkable plan. I believe that it will meet with model resistance. Actually, this was clearly stated by ZERI I POPULIT and mentioned by Enver Hoxha himself at the last plenum of the Albanian Labor Party Central Committee, showing the dirty intention of bringing together the fascist forces scattered throughout Europe and the nationalistic forces among the Albanians in our country. This is nothing but joining the blackest possible reaction and grossly interfering in the domestic affairs of our country. The Albanian people in our country and, in my view, all Albanian people could ask: Who supports the policy published in ZERI I POPULIT? Those who throw bombs at our embassy, those who savagely mistreated and who killed and are killing honest people in Europe, in Switzerland, West Germany, Belgium, the United States and in our country. They are the black shirts of Mustafa Kruja, Kal'oshi, Trpeza, Fikri Dine, Dzhemo, Shem Atipi, Mefal', Dzhem Asani and others like them. We loudly proclaim that this is not a policy of progress. We also know that these butchers have caused a great deal of harm to the Albanians in Debar, in Macedonia, in Kosovo and, quite likely, the Albanians in Albania.

#### Relations with Albania

[Question] The activities of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are considered a direct interference in the domestic affairs of our country. Therefore, in your view, how will further relations with this neighboring republic develop?

[Answer] Let me stress once again that our intention of developing good neighborly relations with Albania were and remain sincere and can represent nothing other than a specific contribution to the struggle for socialism and peace in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world. Our contribution to cooperation, based on the universally-known and globally asserted and adopted principles for settling international relations, equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and noninterference in domestic affairs is of interest to the Yugoslav nations and nationalities and to all nations throughout the world. I sincerely believe that this interest is shared by the people of neighboring Albania as well. The Albanian leadership should take this into consideration, and so should its spokesman ZERI I POPULIT and Tirana Radio and Television. We are still ready to cooperate with Albania. However, this should be a cooperation contributing to the progress of people and nations. We shall base our further cooperation on such criteria so that no one could have the illusion that one could betray our trust and our good will twice.

[Question] Some educational institutions and, through them, a certain percentage of the young generation have been contaminated with great-Albanian nationalistic and irredentist ideas. What have been their manifestations?

[Answer] We face difficult problems in the educational system as well. Having learned from the Kosovo events, as some studies of our activities indicate, we can say that the educational process or, more specifically, one part of it and one part of the educational-pedagogical cadres who have been inculcating into our young

generation a strange view of the world. Naturally, in this area as well, we must be self-critical, for in the absence of vigilance on the part of the League of Communists and with the inefficiency of some of the elements within our system, a certain number of educational workers with a nationalistic orientation and some members of the clergy have been poisoning the young generation with the intention of creating a base for hostile forces among the young. That is why we must not stop at merely noting the fact that such were the factors which promoted nationalistic, chauvinistic and dogmatic ideas or, in a few words, a wrong awareness among the young generation, and let it fall into the enemy's trap. We shall take the following steps: With specific ideological differentiation we shall clear the educational process from this weed and will then pay greater attention to the young generation which, with the direct help of the communists, will be helped to take the socialist self-management direction.

#### Level of Differentiation

[Question] You mentioned the process of ideological-political differentiation. How is it developing and what are its characteristics?

[Answer] In Debar I stated that there is a tendency to minimize the events. We want to put an end to this. If we were to combine all minor activities we would see the appearance of a hostile mosaic. According to this theory, there are no arguments to prove that the actions did not come as a surprise. They would not have taken place had we stopped such hostile activities on time. That is why, as communists, we must see to it that only those who are willing to struggle for the policy of the League of Communists occupy a place within our ranks. There is no place for demagogues, hypocrites or turncoats who should be allowed to hold important social positions even less. I believe that the time has come to undertake a specific process of ideological-political differentiation, which has its reasons and is necessary.

Let me also add that some of our comrades believe that they are not nationalists. I believe them. Nevertheless, essentially they are not firm, they have not developed their own system of opposition to nationalistic actions, demonstrations, thoughts or activities. Concepts alien to us exist and the effective struggle for their elimination is falling behind. This means that they are not nationalists but also that they are not strong enough to become true fighters against nationalism.

[Question] Do you agree with the thought that along with intensive actions there also exists a certain inertia, lightheadedness and complacency in carrying them out?

[Answer] Although this is a period of increased responsibility and daring, the League of Communists and, within this context, the League of Communists of Macedonia, is not totally active. It behaves rather as if these were normal circumstances, although all of us agree that our situation is not entirely normal. The Kosovo events are quite impressive by themselves and quite clearly indicate that we are not in a normal situation. Quite naturally, this means that we cannot have the right to work superficially and with a lesser feeling of responsibility and lesser energy and to tolerate or ignore obvious facts, whose existence in our practices is

totally unjustified. However, it is still difficult to surmount such weaknesses. I believe that it is high time for the League of Communists of Macedonia, for each opshchina organization, each primary organization and every individual member, particularly communists holding noted political, public and self-management positions, to find the strength to change their methods of action.

[Question] Finally, could you tell us your assessment of the political-safety situation in our republic?

[Answer] I believe that it remains good. The League of Communists of Macedonia, directly or through the other areas of the political system, is firmly holding the political situation on a satisfactory level. The negative features I mentioned are the error of the handful of nationalists and enemies of this union. However, we are not such as to undermine the foundations of our Yugoslavia. We, Macedonians, Albanians and Turks in Macedonia, have the necessary conditions to live together happily today and even more happily and better tomorrow. I am firmly convinced of this!

5003  
CSO: 2800/282

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

SCHOOL DIRECTOR OUT--The party organization in the "Boris Kidric" elementary school in the village of Saraj outside of Skopje expelled Taip Ibrahim, director of this school, from the LC because of his actions based on positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The basic LC organization also recommended to the school that Ibrahim be removed from his position as director, because of ideological-political and moral inability. Ibrahim openly supported the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, interpreting them as a "student revolt against bad food," had a direct negative influence on the political and security situation at the school, interpreting the appearance of hostile slogans and other excesses as harmless games to be ignored, and countered attempts by parents to change their last names from Albanian to Macedonian. [Excerpt] [Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 22 Jul 81 p 13]

ALBANIAN NATIONALISM NEAR KUMANOVO--Macedonians, Serbs, Albanians, as well as other nationalities, live in the village of Matejce near Kumanovo. This is a large village with a well-developed sociopolitical life. Up to now it has served as an example of harmony and brotherhood and unity among its inhabitants regardless of nationality. However, recently some people in leading positions in the village have disrupted the peaceful life of Matejce. Acting from group or personal motives, they have tried to assume the leadership in the local SAWP organization, influence delegates in the tobacco enterprise, the youth and athletic organizations. Recently the communists discussed this situation in village organizations. It was suggested that the secretary of the basic LC organization and a number of other local officials be removed from their jobs. [Excerpts] [Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 29 Jul 81 p 8]

PODUJEVO EXPULSIONS--Thus far, 29 members have been expelled from the LC in Podujevo (this opstina has over 2,500 members), 22 others were given various party penalties; most of these are students and teachers. In addition, 30 workers have been suspended from their jobs (most of these are teachers). Also, 25 secondary school students have been expelled from school, 48 persons given prison sentences, 35 of whom were demonstration participants, while 13 others were sentenced for spreading disinformation, and for irresponsible and opportunist action; trials have opened for 15 other persons. [Excerpts] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 23 Jul 81 p 5]

REFERENCE TO ISLAND PRISON--Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian on 13 July 1981, page 3, carries a bizarre satiric note referring to aptly-named Bare Island (Goli Otok), site of a grim prison camp for political offenders, notably--in

the past--Cominformists. The note is accompanied by a photo of two men in striped Victorian bathing suits, sitting with their feet up on a balcony railing overlooking a seascape. "The tourist season on our blue Adriatic," the unsigned note begins, "is in full swing. All hotels and campgrounds are jammed, mainly with foreign guests. For Yugoslav guests, there is no space anywhere. Under the circumstances, some Yugoslavs are nostalgically recalling a magic island on which they enjoyed themselves in the sun all day long, with the scent of the sea in their nostrils, in a salutary climate; moreover, room and board were free. But that exotic island is just history now. Bare Island, a spacious isle of sun, happiness, and calm is no longer accessible to Yugoslavs. Since we are not in a position to show you all the charms of this once-exclusive Yugoslav resort in color, we give you a black-and-white photo from our files to let you persuade yourself how people once enjoyed themselves." [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2800/318

END

**END OF  
FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

**27 Aug. 1981**